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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAVEM II)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 952 (1994) of 27 October 1994, in which the Council asked me to keep it informed of the progress of the Lusaka peace talks, as well as on the military and humanitarian situation in Angola. Since then, the members of the Council, in their informal consultations, have been regularly informed by the Secretariat of developments in the country.

II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

2. Since my last report to the Security Council of 20 October 1994 (S/1994/1197), significant events have taken place in the Angolan peace process. After long and arduous negotiations that lasted for approximately one year, the Lusaka Protocol was initialled on 31 October and signed on 20 November 1994. The Protocol was signed by the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, and by the Secretary-General of the União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) and its chief negotiator at the Lusaka peace talks, Mr. Eugénio Manuvakola. The ceremony was witnessed by several heads of State, including President José Eduardo dos Santos, and by a number of Foreign Ministers and other dignitaries. Citing security concerns, the President of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, did not travel to Lusaka.

3. Following the initialling of the Lusaka Protocol, the President of the Security Council issued on 4 November 1994 a statement on behalf of the Council (S/PRST/1994/63), in which she stressed once again that any obstruction to the peace process would be unacceptable. On 18 November, following allegations that the truce that was supposed to come into force before the cease-fire was not being respected, the President of the Council sent identical messages to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, calling upon them to ensure that their forces adhered strictly to the terms of the truce. In another statement issued on 21 November 1994, after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol (S/PRST/1994/70), the President of the Council stated that the Government and UNITA must continue

to demonstrate their commitment to peace through the full and timely implementation of the agreement and that the cease-fire required by the Protocol must be respected. On the same day, I also issued a statement noting that it was imperative that immediate action be taken to implement the comprehensive agreement signed in Lusaka and that the cessation of hostilities be established without delay.

4. The most contentious item on the agenda of the Lusaka talks, the question of national reconciliation, was concluded on 14 October 1994, when agreement was reached on the list of localities to be administered by UNITA. Earlier, on 5 September 1994, after months of complex negotiations, UNITA had accepted the package of proposals put forward by my Special Representative and the three observer States (Portugal, Russian Federation and United States of America). This question had been particularly difficult to resolve since it included the allocation of senior government positions, including the governorships of provinces, to UNITA members.

5. On 18 October 1994, the two delegations initiated the review of the timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol on the basis of a document prepared by my Special Representative and the observer States. After several interruptions resulting from the intensification of military activity throughout Angola and the need for both the Government and UNITA delegations to travel to Luanda and Huambo, respectively, for consultations, agreement was finally reached on the timetable on 31 October 1994, the day the Protocol was initialled.

6. At the time of the initialling, it was agreed that the high-level military talks between the Government and UNITA would begin on 10 November 1994 and that the signing ceremony would take place on 15 November. However, owing to continued fighting throughout Angola, the military talks did not begin until 14 November, and the signing had to be postponed for five days.

7. The high-level military talks and the negotiations regarding the security arrangements for Mr. Savimbi and other senior UNITA leaders concluded at Lusaka on 23 November 1994. At the time, it was agreed that further talks would be held at Luanda on 29 November and all delegations left the Zambian capital. However, the talks did not resume as scheduled since the UNITA delegation, citing logistic and transport problems, did not arrive at Luanda.

8. During the period under review, my Special Representative undertook intensive efforts with a view to ensuring that the Lusaka Protocol was signed and that the cease-fire that came into force on 22 November 1994 would be respected. In the pursuit of such efforts, he has met with President dos Santos and with Mr. Savimbi and travelled to Namibia, Zaire and Zimbabwe for consultations with Presidents Sam Nujoma, Mobutu Sese Seko and Robert Mugabe, respectively. He has also met on a number of occasions with President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia and exchanged views on the situation in Angola with the heads of State and other dignitaries who attended the signing ceremony in Lusaka.

9. The Lusaka Protocol consists of eight annexes, each relating to a particular issue on the agenda of the peace talks. The annexes cover all legal, military and political issues agreed to at the talks. The main military issues concern the re-establishment of the cease-fire; the withdrawal, quartering and demilitarization of all UNITA military forces; the disarming of civilians; and the completion of the formation of the Forcas Armadas Angolanas (FAA). The major political issues include the police; the United Nations mandate and the role of the observers of the "Acordos de Paz"; the completion of the electoral process; and the question of national reconciliation.

III. MILITARY SITUATION

10. Despite the initialling of the Lusaka Protocol on 31 October 1994, fighting continued throughout Angola, with major offensives launched by FAA. As a result, the Government was able to retake many strategically important areas of the country, including all provincial capitals, some of which had been occupied by UNITA for many months.

11. During the reporting period, several appeals were made to the Government and UNITA by the Security Council and Member States and by me, urging them to put an immediate halt to the hostilities. However, the military situation continued to be extremely tense, even after both sides agreed to a truce that entered into effect on 16 November 1994. The fighting started to subside only after the Lusaka Protocol was signed on 20 November and the cease-fire entered into force 48 hours thereafter. By 24 November, however, there were reports of renewed clashes, with both the Government and UNITA blaming the new attacks on the other.

12. In the northern part of Angola, especially in the provinces of Bengo and Zaire, government forces continued their advance throughout most of November. In a well-prepared offensive, FAA first recaptured N'Zeto and later the important oil-producing town of Soyo. The Government subsequently launched an attack against the provincial capital of M'Banza Congo, which fell under its control in mid-November. As a result, UNITA forces retreated to the northern border of the country. FAA also mounted an attack against the city of Uige, which was captured on 17 November 1994. There were confirmed reports of clashes in the area even after the formal cease-fire was declared. In the meantime, reports were received that a large number of UNITA troops had attacked Cafunfo in Lunda Norte province in the second half of November, but were repelled. Ambushes and some fighting were also reported around the city of Malange and in the vicinity of Cacolo in Lunda Sul.

13. In the central region, the military situation also underwent dramatic changes. After intensive battles in October and in early November 1994, FAA forces took control of almost all the province of Benguela. At the same time, a strategic offensive was launched towards Huambo. As a result of heavy fighting, and after the nearby localities of Longonjo, Kalalanga and Caala fell to the Government, the city was virtually surrounded and finally came under government control on 6 November 1994. UNITA troops retreated mainly to the northern part of Huambo province. Active military action in the province was registered until the end of November, including heavy use of air assets. Later in November,

there were reports of clashes in the vicinity of Kuito (the security perimeter of which was significantly enlarged) and around Andulo, as well as movement of troops and matériel and small-scale attacks by UNITA in Moxico province.

14. In the southern part of the country the situation was relatively calm, but was marked by government advances. According to some reports, in October UNITA attacked FAA positions around Menongue, Cuchi and Cutabo, resulting in government casualties. Subsequently, however, FAA recaptured several municipalities in Huila, and it now appears that the entire province is under government control. In the province of Cuando Cubango, FAA surrounded the town of Cuito Cuanavale but as of 30 November 1994 this locality was still under UNITA control. Continued military clashes have occurred in the province of Cuando Cubango after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol and an FAA helicopter providing evacuation assistance crashed near Cuito Cuanavale. UNITA has strongly denied any involvement in this incident but FAA claims that four members of the helicopter crew are being held captive by UNITA.

15. While the military situation in many parts of Angola remained very tense, even after the official conclusion of the Lusaka talks, some steps were taken towards the establishment of an effective cease-fire. In order to enhance the verification capabilities of UNAVEM II and as an additional confidence-building measure, my Special Representative decided to deploy to the countryside small teams of military and police personnel already serving with the Mission. Accordingly, on 27, 28 and 29 November 1994, UNAVEM regional headquarters were established in the cities of Huambo, Luena, Menongue, Saurimo and Uige, in addition to one already existing in Lubango. Initial reports indicate that these cities and the surrounding areas have been relatively peaceful, although small-scale military actions initiated by either side persisted in some localities, in particular in the provinces of Benguela, Bie, Cuando Cubango, Huambo, Huila, Kwanza Norte, Lunda Sul and Moxico.

IV. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

16. Since my last report, the humanitarian situation in Angola has continued to be severely affected by the intensification of military offensives, particularly in the provinces of Huambo and Zaire.

17. In Huambo, all relief flights were suspended from 1 November 1994 because of insecurity linked to the military offensive operations launched by government forces. Owing to the highly precarious security situation prevailing in the city, 54 expatriate humanitarian workers, including three United Nations staff members, 34 from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the rest from other non-governmental organizations, were stranded and gathered on 5 November on the premises of ICRC. On 11 November, following contacts made by my Special Representative at the highest levels of the Government and UNITA, 50 of the 54 expatriate workers were evacuated to Luanda. The four that remained on their own initiative were from ICRC. All the expatriate personnel faced particularly difficult circumstances and I should like to take this opportunity to commend them for their courage. Most recently, the United Nations system has been able to resume its humanitarian activities at Huambo where the need for humanitarian assistance, especially basic food requirements, is acute.

18. United Nations personnel also had to be evacuated from the provincial capitals of M'Banza Congo and Uige. Nevertheless, substantial progress has been made in other provinces. A joint mission of agencies of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations was carried out on 18 and 19 October in N'Dalatando in the province of Kwanza Norte, where the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and some non-governmental organizations have begun implementing emergency programmes. A strong emphasis has been placed on the establishment of nutrition and treatment centres in order to meet the critical needs of about 75,000 people, many of whom suffer from acute malnutrition. Efforts have also been launched to solve logistical problems so as to increase the volume of deliveries.

19. In the province of Bie, the city of Kuito continues to receive emergency relief assistance, particularly medicines, soap, blankets and clothing for displaced persons. The most serious threat is posed by the presence of numerous mines and other explosive devices, which claim many civilian lives daily.

20. In Malange, the situation has begun to stabilize and larger quantities of aid are arriving. However, identifying vulnerable persons there remains one of the priorities of the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations.

21. In other provinces, humanitarian assistance activities continued without major difficulties and WFP, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations, is maintaining its deliveries of 400 tons per day; UNICEF has been concentrating on the immunization programme in priority areas. WFP has also revised its follow-up methods on emergency food distribution and an evaluation mission from its headquarters visited Luanda in mid-November.

22. The comprehensive mine programme for Angola, coordinated by the Central Mine Action Office, has become operational. The experts in demobilization and social reintegration in charge of carrying out studies on vulnerable groups and the profile of soldiers to be demobilized have already begun collecting information.

23. Following the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, an inter-agency mission travelled to Angola with a view to determining the extension and the modalities of the comprehensive humanitarian aid programme for the reintegration of displaced persons, repatriation of refugees and the implementation of the demobilization programme.

V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

24. To restore the strength of UNAVEM II to its previous level of 350 military observers and 126 police observers with an appropriate number of international and local staff, it is estimated that start-up requirements based on the phasing-in schedule of military and civilian personnel would amount to US$ 7.6 million for the period from 9 December 1994 to 31 January 1995.

25. Should the Security Council decide to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II to 31 January 1995 and to restore its strength to its previous level, I will initially request the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary

Questions to make the necessary provisions for the start-up costs based on the phasing-in of military and civilian personnel and equipment.

26. It should be noted that the cash-flow situation of the special account of UNAVEM II continues to be critical. As of 26 November 1994, outstanding assessed contributions to the account amounted to some US$ 13.9 million. Consequently, in order to provide the Mission with the necessary cash flow, a total of US$ 19 million has been borrowed from the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund for a period exceeding 11 months. This loan remains unpaid.

27. The total outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations as of 26 November 1994 totalled US$ 1.5 billion.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

28. The signing of the Lusaka Protocol has brought Angola to the threshold of peace and formally ended the devastating war that has cost hundreds of thousands of lives over the last two decades. However, the continued fighting and the failures of the past have deepened the mistrust between the parties and increased the scepticism of the international community. It is now up to the people of Angola and their leaders to take the final steps to usher in a new era of lasting peace and national reconciliation and to begin the daunting task of rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Angolan parties must abide fully by the Protocol before the United Nations can consider committing major resources to a substantial expansion of its operation. The Security Council has reiterated that the United Nations can assist only once the Angolans themselves have demonstrated the necessary political will.

29. It is imperative that after their declaration of the cessation of hostilities as of 22 November 1994, the Government and UNITA meticulously implement the cease-fire on the ground; otherwise, the whole peace process could unravel again. Once my Special Representative has reported to me that the cease-fire is effective, I will proceed in accordance with resolution 952 (1994) of 27 October 1994, with the expansion of UNAVEM II to its previous level of 350 military observers, 126 police observers and 14 military medical personnel, with an appropriate number of international and local staff. The United Nations must also obtain from both the Government and UNITA assurances regarding the security and safety of the international personnel to be stationed in various areas of Angola, including those near former combat zones. The actual restoration of the strength of the Mission to its previous level will have to depend on reliable confirmation of the strict observance of the cease-fire by both sides.

30. Since the Lusaka Protocol provides for a new and much wider role for the United Nations in the peace process, I dispatched a small group of specialists from the Secretariat to the country to conduct a technical survey. The team arrived at Luanda on 24 November 1994 and visited various accessible sites with the aim of checking existing contingency plans against the actual situation on the ground. The survey team will subsequently prepare detailed proposals for the overall role of the United Nations in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. I intend to present comprehensive recommendations in this regard to the Security Council in due course. In the meantime, the Secretariat has

intensified its contacts with present and potential troop- and/or police-contributing countries. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to those Member States that have indicated their willingness to participate in an expanded United Nations operation in Angola, and especially to those that have put their military and police personnel on stand-by in order to facilitate as rapid a deployment as possible.

31. While the international community will no doubt be prepared to assist Angola in achieving a peaceful transformation, the parties to the Lusaka Protocol bear primary responsibility for its implementation. It is essential to draw up all such plans without delay and to start allocating national resources for mine-clearance and rehabilitation of the country's basic infrastructure, for the quartering and disarmament process, the completion of the formation of FAA, the reintegration of the national police, national reconciliation and many other vital tasks. It is also expected that the Angolans will assume the necessary responsibilities in support of the United Nations operation in the country, in accordance with the model status-of-forces agreement (A/45/594). A formal status-of-forces agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Angola will be concluded as soon as the Security Council approves a new expanded mandate for UNAVEM.

32. I hope to be in a position to proceed shortly with the increase in the strength of UNAVEM to its previous level. In the meantime, I recommend that the mandate of UNAVEM II be extended for a further period, until 31 January 1995. It is my expectation that the cease-fire will solidify during this period and that the international community will be assured of the commitment of the Angolan parties to the Lusaka process and to national reconciliation. For my part, I will continue to prepare recommendations to the Council on the possible mandate for a new United Nations operation in Angola, and hope to submit it to the Council before 31 January 1995.

33. Angola will require the continued assistance of the international community in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. I call on all Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide the resources necessary to carry out the humanitarian aspects of the Protocol and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country.

34. Needless to say, the safety and security of all international personnel in Angola should be respected and assured. I deplore the dangerous conditions to which international personnel involved in relief operations at Huambo were recently exposed. It is essential that the security of all humanitarian personnel be unconditionally assured, and I urge the two parties to cooperate fully in this respect with the United Nations.

35. I wish to express my gratitude to President Chiluba of Zambia and to the other heads of State of the subregion for their significant contribution to the search for peace in Angola. I also wish to express once again my appreciation to the representatives of the three observer States that have contributed so much to the advancement of the peace process for their cooperation and invaluable support.

36. Finally, I would like to pay tribute to my Special Representative for his determined efforts and perseverance in the search for a peaceful end to the Angolan conflict. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Chief Military Observer and the staff of UNAVEM II for the dedication with which they continue to discharge their duties, as well as to the personnel of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations who persevere in their efforts to deliver humanitarian aid under difficult circumstances to those in need.